

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-06

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3795

CONFIDENTIAL BRASILIA 1097

LIMDIS

FOR ASS'T SECY ROGERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINS MOPS CU AO

SUBJECT: ACTION PROGRAM REGARDING CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA

REF: CARACAS 1183

1. CONCERNING THE FIRST POINT IN YOU PROPOSED PROGRAM,
I ASSUME THAT THE REFERENCE TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN SUCH
A LETTER -- WHICH SHOULD BE FROM THE SECRETARY AND NOT THE
PRESIDENT -- WOULD BE AIMED AT CUBAN ADVENTURISM IN THE
HEMISPHERE AND WOULD BE SO DRAFTED AS TO PLAY DOWN ANY
SUGGESTION THAT WE WERE THINKING IN TERMS OF SOVIET ACTIONS IN
THE HEMISPHERE ARISING FROM OR MODELED ON ANGOLA. (I SAY
THIS BECAUSE SUCH AN EXTENSION WOULD HAVE, IT SEEMS TO ME,
MAJOR IMPLICATIONS FOR BROAD US POLICY.) ALTHOUGH THE
LETTER WOULD BE USEFUL IN UNDERLINING OUR CONCERNS ABOUT
CUBAN INTERVENTIONISM AND IN RESTATING A GENERAL PRINCIPLE,
IT WOULD HAVE NO ACTION CONSEQUENCES. IT WOULD, I
IMAGINE, BE REPLIED TO IN THE SAME VEIN, THAT IS, WITH
RECIPROCAL STATEMENTS OF BELIEF IN THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-
INTERVENTION AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY. THIS WOULD BE HELPFUL
AND POTENTIALLY VALUABLE BUT IT WOULD NOT HAVE AN IMMEDIATE
PRACTICAL EFFECT. IN FACT, A GOOD MANY REPLIES WOULD, I
THINK, BE CAREFUL TO GUARD AGAINST ANY IMPLICATION OF
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COMMITMENT TO ANY SPECIFIC COURSE OF ACTION.

2. WITH RESPECT TO BRAZIL, A REPLY FROM SILVEIRA, WHILE SUPPORTING IN A MOTHERHOOD VEIN THE PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERVENTION AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY, WOULD PROBABLY BE MORE CAUTIOUS THAN MOST BECAUSE OF BRAZIL'S SPECIAL SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO THE MPLA GOVERNMENT, THE NEED TO AVOID FURTHER STIMULATION OF DOMESTIC CRITICISM, AND GENERAL AWARENESS ABOUT ANY SPECIFIC UNDERTAKING SPONSORED BY US. IT WOULD PROBABLY ALSO CONTAIN A REFERENCE TO BRASIL'S LACK OF ILLUSIONS ABOUT CUBAN INTERVENTIONIST POLICIES, WITH WE-TOLD-YOU-SO OVERTONES.

3. ON YOUR SECOND POINT, I CERTAINLY AGREE THAT WE SHOULD SUPPORT ANY DENUNCIATIONS, INDIVIDUAL OR JOINT, OF THE CUBAN INTERVENTION THAT ANY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES MAY BE PREPARED TO MAKE. I DO NOT, HOWEVER, SEE ANY SIGNIFICANT PROSPECT OF BRAZILIAN ASSOCIATION WITH SUCH A CONCERT. I BELIEVE THAT, GIVEN THE REAL CONSTRAINTS UPON THE GOB CREATED BY THE HOSTILE DOMESTIC REACTION TO ITS ACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO ANGOLA AND ITS NEED TO APPEAR AS HAVING ACTED WITH PRESCIENCE, THE MOST WE CAN EXPECT HERE IS A STATEMENT IN A COMMUNIQUE AFTER THE VISIT AGAINST ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AND EVEN THAT MIGHT NOT FLY IN THE TERMS WE WOULD PREFER.

(BRASILIA 0980 AND 1041 ARE RELEVANT.)

4. CONCERNING YOUR FINAL TWO PROPOSALS, I ENDORSE THE IDEA OF SUGGESTIONS FROM US TO SELECTED COUNTRIES TO MAKE KNOWN THEIR CONCERNS TO THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS. I AM NOT Sanguine THAT THE MAJORITY OF COUNTRIES WITH RELATIONS WITH CUBA WOULD ACCEPT THE SUGGESTION, BUT I BELIEVE THAT IF IT IS IN ORDER. AGAIN, I AM MOST DOUBTFUL THAT SILVEIRA WOULD BE WILLING TO APPROACH THE SOVIETS. (IT IS RELEVANT TO NOTE THAT, IN LINE WITH PRESS REPORTS THAT ITAMARATY SOURCES (UNNAMED) HAVE SAID THAT MPLA VICTORIES VALIDATE THE BRAZILIAN DECISION OF NOVEMBER 10, A WELL-PLACED MEMBER OF SILVERIA'S CABINET (HIS PERSONAL STAFF) STATED RECENTLY TO AN EMBOFF WITH SATISFACTION THAT BRAZIL HAD "PICKED A WINNER" IN ANGOLA.)

5. I CERTAINLY AGREE WITH OUR FINAL OBSERVATION ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S ADDRESS TO THE ISSUE OF CUBAN INTERVENTION
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THROUGHOUT HIS VISIT. HERE, OF COURSE, IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO AVOID SPILL-OVER INTO THE APPEARANCE OF A CLEAR-CUT DIFFERENCE OF APPRECIATION BETWEEN US AND GOB ON ANGOLA. WE WILL BE SENDING UP A TELEGRAM ON OUR IDEAS FOR THE SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH SILVEIRA AND GEISEL.

6. I ASSUME THAT IN HIS PRIVATE AND PUBLIC REFERENCES TO

ANGOLA, THE SECRETARY WILL EMPHASIZE THE THEME STRUCK
IN HIS VERY RECENT SPEECHES, EXCEPT, IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES
HERE, THE SEVERE CRITICISM OF CONGRESS. HIS BRAZILIAN
INTERLOCUTORS AND THE PUBLIC IN GENRAL DO NOT HAVE A
REALLY SOPHISTACATED APPRECIATION OF YOUR SYSTEM AND ITS
PENDULAR MOVEMENTS AND, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE
TOTAL DOMINANCEOF THE BRAZILIAN EXECUTIVE BRANCH, THE
CERTAINLY LEGITIMATE STRICTURESAGAINST THE CONGRESS IN
A DOMESTIC SETTING ARE SUSCEPTIBLE, IN THE BRAZILIAN
ENVIRONMENT, TO MIS-INTERPRETATION AND EXPLOITATION IN
WAYS ADVERSE TO OUR IMAGE, PURPOSES AND INTERESTS.
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